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THE
PROBLEMS
OF
RACE RELATIONS
IN
SOUTH AFRICA

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Basuto kraal in Orange Free State near Basutoland border. Photo: South African Railways

DEEP UNDERLYING FACTORS

The problems of race relations in South Africa have been very much in the public eye in the past few years. One who reads for the first time what appears in current newspapers and periodicals on this subject, with complete ignorance of it, might well conclude that there is just a simple problem, and that sooner or later some clear-cut "solution" will establish itself, surpassing all other proposed solutions.

I purposely commenced by speaking of problems in the plural. I hope to be able to show that there is a variety of different and intricate problems. Many people who write about the subject today have already taken a stand about it and know precisely what should be done here and now. I hope to be able to show that each of the problems requires careful study before orderly progress towards its solution is possible. In the battle of ideologies which has recently held the



A young girl of the Tswana Tribe draws water from a stream near her kraal outside Zeerust, Western Transvaal.

centre of the stage, the constituent parts of the various problems have been disregarded. Very little attention has been given to the really significant facts and ethnological complexes. Some of the deep underlying factors are at times either unknown to the protagonists of conflicting ideologies, or are disregarded by them.

This survey is less concerned with the polemics which now range round this subject than with the basic ethnological and economic features of the situation. The strategist who plans a campaign must give due regard to the geographical features of the region where the campaign will be conducted. It is somewhat more difficult to map the ethnological and economic geography pertaining to the problems under consideration, but the attempt which many people are now making to disregard these salient features can only end in disaster. The main object of this survey will be to throw into relief a few of the more important of these features.

Slow Spiritual Adjustment

The human terrain, over which problems of policy are fought out, changes even while the battle is in progress. In the case of the problems of race relations in South Africa there are many features of this human terrain which react but slowly to the heat of battle. This is indeed one of the basic features of these problems, more often overlooked than regarded.

In essentials the primitive African changes but slowly. He frequently shows quick adjustment to change in externals. He is a polite individual who does not flaunt his difference when it is easy to conform to the pattern set by the white man. When, however, externals have to be married to essentials to form the basis of a new life, he frequently not only disappoints but really perplexes those who were impressed by his apparent quickness of adjustment to civilized conditions.

It takes a generation to teach a primitive African a new idea when such an idea revolutionises his reaction to his environment. Even then care must be taken not to place too great a strain on his acceptance of the new idea. A friend of mine was recently approached by a Bantu Christian missionary whose church had been struck by lightning and burnt down. (Bantu is the generally accepted name for South African blacks or Natives). He explained that he had collected enough funds to build a new church and asked my friend for facilities to visit a well-known heathen witchdoctor. My friend was puzzled and asked him why he wanted to visit a witchdoctor. The reply was stunning in its unexpectedness: "*Nkosi*," he said, "I want to get *muti* (i.e. medicine or an amulet) from the witchdoctor to prevent the lightning from striking the new church"!

The idea of a Christian missionary appealing to a heathen witchdoctor to exorcise the evil spirit of lightning from a Christian church is a telling example of the conflict between external conformity and essential unbelief.

This slowness in the spiritual adjustment of the primitive African to the demands of Civilization and Christianity is one of the basic factors underlying



A Xosa belle in Cape Eastern Province smokes her pipe in contemplative mood.

the problems of race-relationship in South Africa, indeed of all sub-Saharan Africa, i.e. Africa south of the Sahara.

It is, therefore, necessary for the purpose of even a short study of the problem to go back a long distance into history and to stress some of the important factors which make the problems of human relationships in Africa not only different from those of more civilized areas of the world, but also a field in which it is common for Ignorance to be dogmatic, where Knowledge treads with the greatest diffidence.

ABSENCE OF INDIGENOUS CIVILIZATION

Throughout the ages sub-Saharan Africa has produced no indigenous civilization and, in fact, hardly anything more than a most elementary subsistence economy. What civilization there now exists had to be laboriously transplanted from the north and carefully nurtured and protected to bring it to the stage of independent growth.

The southern Bantu tribes of the Negroid races did not know even such a simple but essential adjunct of civilization as the wheel. It is very difficult to imagine a people which has not discovered the principle of the lever. In actual practice, however, the lever played an insignificant rôle among the natives on account of the absence of knowledge of how to make a strong lever and the absence of the necessity of shifting heavy objects. The Bantu used practically no furniture and lived literally on the ground. Some tribes learned how to smelt iron and copper but these metals were employed only in the manufacture of elementary weapons, hoes and ornaments.

The art of writing and the use of money were unknown. The value of all the durable products of human labour belonging to a tribe numbering thousands of warriors would not have paid for the contents of a five-room European house.

A great deal could be written about the reasons for the failure of the Negroid races to build up even a rudimentary civilization; I shall deal with only two. Whatever explanations of retarded mental development ethnologists might advance, there was the basic inhibiting factor that the primitive Africans produced

practically no instruments of production. When the Zulu chieftain, Shaka, built up his empire in South Africa between 1816 and 1828 the only important artefacts at his disposal were the assegai or spear, the shield and the hoe.

It is, of course, necessary to account for the fact that this material base did not emerge. Ethnologists have a great deal to say on this subject. For my purposes attention should be focussed on only a few outstanding facts.

Primitive Communism

It is easy to make a living in Africa provided one is satisfied with a very low standard of living and a very simple diet. To the migrating Bantu tribes land was plentiful. When their soil-robbing cultivation had exhausted fertility or pastures had been ruined by overgrazing, they moved further south, fighting where necessary, but frequently simply moving into pastures new. Game was plentiful. Along the east coast of Africa forest and scrub provided fuel, tall grass provided material for thatching huts and the absence of low temperatures made clothing a superfluous luxury.

It should also be noted that the social system developed by the Bantu obviated the necessity of solving many of the difficult problems created by advancing civilization. It was a primitive communism in which everyone shared his food with members of his own tribe and even with members of friendly tribes. There were no widows, no orphans, no aged poor. Such inequality as there was, consisted of the number of wives a man could afford. Every wife increased the crop-production while the sharing of food restricted the emergence of inequalities based on wealth. There was consequently little incentive to social stratification and to the production of the luxuries which result from the availability of surplus resources. Everybody, including even the chiefs, was relatively poor and relatively equal. There was little economic impetus towards the breakdown of a very simple standard of living.

SUPERSTITION AND WITCHCRAFT

In their approach to the problems of the supernatural—the terrifying facts of sickness and death, drought and famine, and cataclysms of nature—they developed a very simple philosophy. These were caused by the evil forces of witchcraft. They knew, indeed, that there was *Modimo*, the spirit of good. But he never plagued



Xosa boy daubed with clay during his manhood initiation period.

them as did the spirit of evil. Various rites of purification, sacrifice and appeasement of the spirits of the ancestors had to be performed to safeguard the tribe against evil. They knew little of cause and effect in biological tribulations. "My people", said an old educated Bantu to me, "recognize only old age as a natural cause of death. All other deaths are caused by violence or witchcraft."

Functional superstition—superstition governing the conduct of life in everyday matters—therefore became the rule. The essential difference between a primitive and a person who has crossed the divide towards civilization is that the everyday life of the former is governed by elementary fears and superstitions. These prevent him from reacting rationally to such stimuli as disease, death and disaster, and also govern much of his daily life such as tilling his fields and husbanding his animals. The religious significance of cattle in the life of the tribal Bantu—a phenomenon which has created one of the most perplexing problems of conservation of their tribal lands—is examined in more detail later in this study.

SOUTHWARD MIGRATION OF THE BANTU

The southward migration of the Bantu occupied a period of centuries. It was essentially a slow movement, the occupation of vacant lands until these were exhausted, then moving on and repeating the process in the next area. When they reached the lower reaches of the Zambesi, which, not being sailors, they could not cross with their cattle, they moved west. They crossed the narrower upper reaches of the river, coming into conflict with primitive Bushmen. These they exterminated, taking their women folk as captives and learning from them the typical clicks which still survive among the Nguni-speaking Xosas and Zulus. Then they moved east again until the ocean deflected the move and sent it further south.

This southward migration was destined in time to come face to face with another migration, that of the white man which commenced under the shadows of Table Mountain in 1652, and proceeded at a leisurely pace in a north-easterly direction. For about one hundred and seventy years these two migrations, that of barbarians moving south-west and of civilized men moving north-east, went on unchecked before the vanguards met in considerable numbers. Contacts had been

made before, but the period when neither movement could proceed without conflicting with the other really came only about 1820.

It is important to realize that the contact in considerable numbers between Black and White in South Africa dates back only about 135 years. The two streams had then advanced to near the 25° of longitude where Port Elizabeth was then a small village.

The Bantu migration had followed the route down the well-watered, bush-clad, warm slopes east of the Drakensberg, the southern part of the great mountain range which runs like a backbone up the African Continent. Latecomers had been forced to take refuge west of the mountains. But they also selected the portions where water, bush and warmth made life easy. The vast, relatively treeless plains of the Transvaal Highveld and the Orange Free State, with their bitterly cold winters, were not to the liking of primitive tribes.

THE SHAKAN HOLOCAUST

The tribes which settled west of the Drakensberg were subjected at a later date to a process of extermination by the great Zulu conqueror, Shaka, and his rebellious satellites. This savage potentate, in the course of a reign of twelve years, caused the depopulation of a large part of South Africa.

Shaka was the son of an unmarried mother. His father was chief of the small Zulu clan whose tribal lands comprised some ten square miles. His early memories were that his mother, Nandi, a woman of vixenish temper, was driven from kraal to kraal, sometimes having the good fortune of receiving food, thrown at her, to feed herself and her small boy, but mostly suffering the lot of having the dogs put on to chase her away.

Nandi was the only person whom Shaka ever loved, and when he became the great conqueror he killed everyone who had ever insulted her. When she died thousands of his subjects were murdered because they did not show enough grief at the death of the *'Nkosikazi*. All his children were murdered at birth or his pregnant wives were despatched to prevent them from bringing into this world a progeny who might in time aspire to the crown of their progenitor.

In 1828 this pleasant gentleman was murdered by his brothers and his most trusted *induna*. In twelve years, however, he and a few of his generals, who had



Basuto tribesman.

learnt the art of war from him, had depopulated a very large area in the interior. When the white men migrated northwards after their advance to the east was stopped by the masses of coast-wise Bantu migrants, they found not only the vacant treeless plains which the Bantu had never occupied, but also a large area of coastal country, including the largest part of Natal, which had been depopulated by the Shakan massacres.

Country Depopulated

One may ask how this was done in so short a period. The answer, in the terminology of modern warfare, is that Shaka invented a new weapon, and when this was not adequate owing to the superior numbers of warriors of a hostile clan, he gained the upper hand with the help of a scorched-earth policy.

The change which he made in the art of warfare as then practised was relatively simple. Before his day the tribes waged war with a spear that was thrown at their foes. In this way each side was continually re-arming its opponents. Shaka simply shortened the haft of the spears of his warriors so that they could not be thrown. When the opposing side had thrown their spears, which were evaded as far as possible with the help of hard ox-hide shields, the Zulu warriors rushed in and stabbed their unarmed opponents with their short broad-bladed assegais!

The effects of this change in the art of war were far-reaching. Shaka's armies practically depopulated the present province of Natal except the Zululand portion. He and his satellites and persons fleeing from them did the same to the scattered Bantu tribes inhabiting the eastern parts of the present Transvaal and Orange Free State, either exterminating them or driving them into the mountains where the Zulu tactics were of no avail. They therefore created a vacuum just about the time when the tide of white migration was turned away from the coastal regions of the Cape which were densely settled by the westward-moving Ama-Xosa tribes.

NORTHWARD MIGRATION OF THE WHITE MEN

I have sketched in broad outline the south-western migration of the Bantu Tribes. A few words about the further migration of the Whites will complete the picture.

The first white settlement in what is now the Union of South Africa took place on the shores of Table Bay in 1652. The surrounding country was thinly populated by nomadic Hottentots.



*Zulu reverts to his warrior dress
on a Sunday outing.*



Zulu belles ready for conquest.

PROUD AND DIGNIFIED

During the first few decades there were occasional armed clashes between the Dutch and the Hottentots. In 1713, however, a disaster struck the latter which practically wiped out their tribal existence. Clothes from a ship from the East on which there had been an outbreak of smallpox were sent to be washed by the slaves at the Cape. An epidemic of smallpox broke out in Cape Town. Hottentots coming in to trade also fell victims to the disease. They fled from what they regarded as the witchcraft of the white man and so carried the disease into their own tribes. As it spread the survivors, likewise fleeing from the witchcraft-infected tribes, carried the epidemic ever further, with disastrous results for a population that had no immunity whatever from a disease entirely new to them.

The Migrants Meet

The white migrants therefore for the next century moved into open country almost completely denuded of population. Their movement into the vast open spaces was only checked when they encountered the advance guard of the Bantu migration. Apart from occasional skirmishes, however, there was no serious conflict until the Bantu prophet, Makana, led an attack on Grahamstown in 1819.

The masses of Bantu living beyond the Keiskama River made that area undesirable for migrants looking for new lands as their ancestors had done for nearly two centuries. There were, however, open lands in the north. The sparsity of trees and water and the cold winters did not render them insalubrious to the clothes-wearing, house-building, tool-using civilized migrants from the south. In addition there was the vacuum left by the Shakan wars. It was therefore quite natural that the eastward stream of white migration, deflected north by the occupation by the Bantu of the lands east of the Keiskama River, should have overflowed into these vacant spaces.

This movement commenced about 1836. White men in large numbers moved with their women and children, their flocks and herds, their furniture, utensils and tools on lumbering ox-wagons into what is now the Orange Free State, Natal and the Transvaal. They took with them their religion and their way of life and thus introduced the elements of disintegration into the primitive tribal organisation of the Bantu.

Their arrival did not go without challenge by the Zulus and the Matabele. The decisive Sunday battle of Blood River in 1838, however, broke the might of the Zulu Empire which Shaka had built up and his brother and murderer, Dingane, had maintained.

THE "KAFFIR WARS"—(1820-1880)

It would be tedious to go into detail about the triangular wars and annexations in which Boers, British and Bantu were involved during the next half-century. Suffice it to refer to the cardinal date. By about 1880 the black tribes in the whole of what is now the Union of South Africa had been subjected to white rule either by the British in the South and East or by the Boers in the interior.

Before dealing with the elements of disintegration of tribal life and the resulting task of adjustment of a primitive race to a civilized environment, it is not without importance to recollect that the first considerable impact between Black and White in South Africa took place one and a third centuries ago and that the process of military subjection took up almost a half of this period. Peaceful development has proceeded for only seventy-five years, or about three generations. Even this short period was interrupted by a couple of minor wars before the process of adjustment of the Bantu to civilized government was complete, and the rule of peace was firmly established.

DISINTEGRATION OF TRIBAL LIFE—(1) *Peace*

The disintegration of tribal life, caused by the establishment of a large, well-organised civilized community, differentiates the South African race problem from that of the greater part of Africa. It is necessary, therefore, to consider carefully certain far-reaching elements of disintegration of the Bantu way of life which the white man introduced directly and indirectly.

The first was the establishment of enduring peace.

War was an endemic state among the Bantu tribes. It was a solvent for some of their problems. It gave their manhood a worthy exercise for their personal qualities, an activity in which their zest for life could be absorbed. It helped to establish the dignified bearing of the Bantu. He belonged to a race of warriors, of cattle-owners, of men accustomed to discipline and deeds of heroism.

In his small way every Bantu family head was a ruler. It helped to maintain the practice of polygamy, which was not unimportant in maintaining the primitive subsistence economy of the tribe since it was the women who were the tillers of the fields. The white man imposed peace and even insisted on putting an end to

inter-tribal fights. By stopping warfare the white man not only took a lot of zest out of their lives; he also changed a factor basic to the maintenance of their primitive society and economy.

DISINTEGRATION—(2) *Containment*

The second was the termination of migration as a cure for the growth of population, or for the destruction of the carrying-capacity of their tribal lands by overgrazing and soil-robbery.

On the whole the Bantu were left in possession of the lands they had occupied. Where they had been first on the scene they had picked the areas most suitable to their way of life. These were areas of reasonably good rainfall, mild temperature, wood and forest and fertile soil. But the white man took possession, under a system of individual land-tenure, of the areas which were as yet unpopulated and the areas which their internecine wars, and particularly the Shakan wars, had depopulated.

The former consisted, broadly speaking, of the drier areas west of the great Drakensberg mountain-range. Of the latter the most important part was the fertile province of Natal, excluding Zululand. At a later stage Zulu chiefs enlisted the aid of white men to help them in their struggle for supremacy against rival Zulu chiefs and gave them, in recompense, a portion of northern Natal.

The result of these occupations was that the Bantu migration was hemmed in on the west by the white migration. Their time-honoured method of migrating when their old lands lost their fertility could no longer be resorted to because the rival migration had closed the door. Extensivity had to give way to intensivity. For this task the Bantu, deficient in both knowledge and tools, were ill-equipped.

DISINTEGRATION—(3) *Customs*

The remaining disintegrating factors arose from the interference by the white man in the internal governmental, social and economic structures of the Bantu community.

The first of these resulted from a co-operation of soldiers and missionaries.

The military leaders, whose task was the establishment of peace, looked upon the Bantu Chief as the fountainhead of war. The missionaries, whose task was the introduction of Christianity, looked upon the Chief as the fountainhead of witchcraft. They were both right, but in co-operating to limit the power of the Chief they at the same time weakened the central force for the maintenance of so much

of law and order as prevailed, and for the maintenance of the moral concept according to the lights of a primitive community.

The resulting task, the task of providing something to put into the place of that which was destroyed, is one which is still with us. It will, I fear, be with us for generations. This is the problem on which there is the greatest degree of divergence between South Africans and people abroad who profess to have quite clear-cut policies for its solution.

The first effects of the changes were good as far as they went. Except for a few small affairs, and occasional inter-tribal skirmishes, the black man in South Africa has experienced internal peace for three-quarters of a century, a condition which his ancestors had never known for even a short generation. This in itself was a vital change.

Secondly, the more overt manifestations of witchcraft were suppressed, and for the first time in their history the sanctity of human life began to be a fundamental human right among the Bantu. It cannot, unfortunately, be claimed that this transformation is complete.

DISINTEGRATION—(4) *Animal Diseases*

Other incursions into tribal life followed. The control of animal diseases soon showed up an unexpected and far-reaching incompatibility between the primitive and the civilized way of life.

Cattle play a vital rôle in the life of the Bantu. He who does not comprehend the importance of “Modimo wa nkô e meetse”—“the god with the wet nose”—among the Bantu is indeed rash to open his mouth on the race question in South Africa.

Among the Bantu, cattle are not a purely economic asset. The purely economic conception of cattle held by the Europeans is entirely disruptive of the religious ideas of the Bantu. For them cattle have a deep religious significance. They are a trust to the present generation from the generations who have passed on. They are a link between the living and the dead. They are heirlooms, emblems of the status of the family. They play a rôle in all ceremonial occasions, in births, marriages, deaths, treaties and sacrificial rites.

This does not mean, as in certain Indian religions, that the meat of cattle may not be eaten. A dead animal is always eaten, even at times when it has died from a disease like anthrax which can be communicated to human beings. It does, however, mean that cattle should not be killed merely for food. There must be some good reason for slaying a cattle-beast and this reason is mostly sacrificial.

To some slight extent the white man has succeeded in breaking down this attitude. The impact which this slight change has had is, however, insignificant in



The ringed head—his badge of distinction. This induna (leader or chief) used to command a regiment of Shangaan warriors.

face of the huge road-block in the way of the progress to the civilization of the Bantu, which is represented by the rôle which cattle play in the Bantu "weltanschauung".

Let us have a closer look at this. The essence of the Bantu concept is that cattle are a trust handed down by one's ancestors and that a person is important in accordance with the *number* of cattle he possesses. Quality is secondary and relatively unimportant. A primarily nomadic community with plenty of free land to be occupied can carry on a primitive system like this as long as the open spaces or the right to go to war remain. The white migrants from the south put a stop to both these safeguards.

They did more. They introduced ruthlessly efficient veterinarians who wiped out endemic cattle diseases, and thus put an end to the remaining equilibrators between numbers of cattle and carrying capacity of the soil in an enclosed area. The cure for this is the inculcation of a new concept of cattle and the introduction of new methods like substituting quality for quantity.

This is a difficult lesson for the Bantu to learn because it conflicts with all their religious convictions. For a very long time it was not regarded as a first objective of the education of a primitive race to prepare them for this change. In very large circles, even in South Africa, it is not so regarded even today. Many regard reading and writing and the elements of the catechism as more urgent than the adjustment of the Bantu to the conditions which the introduction of civilization has forced on them. And so the process of overstocking continues, threatening their tribal lands with complete destruction.

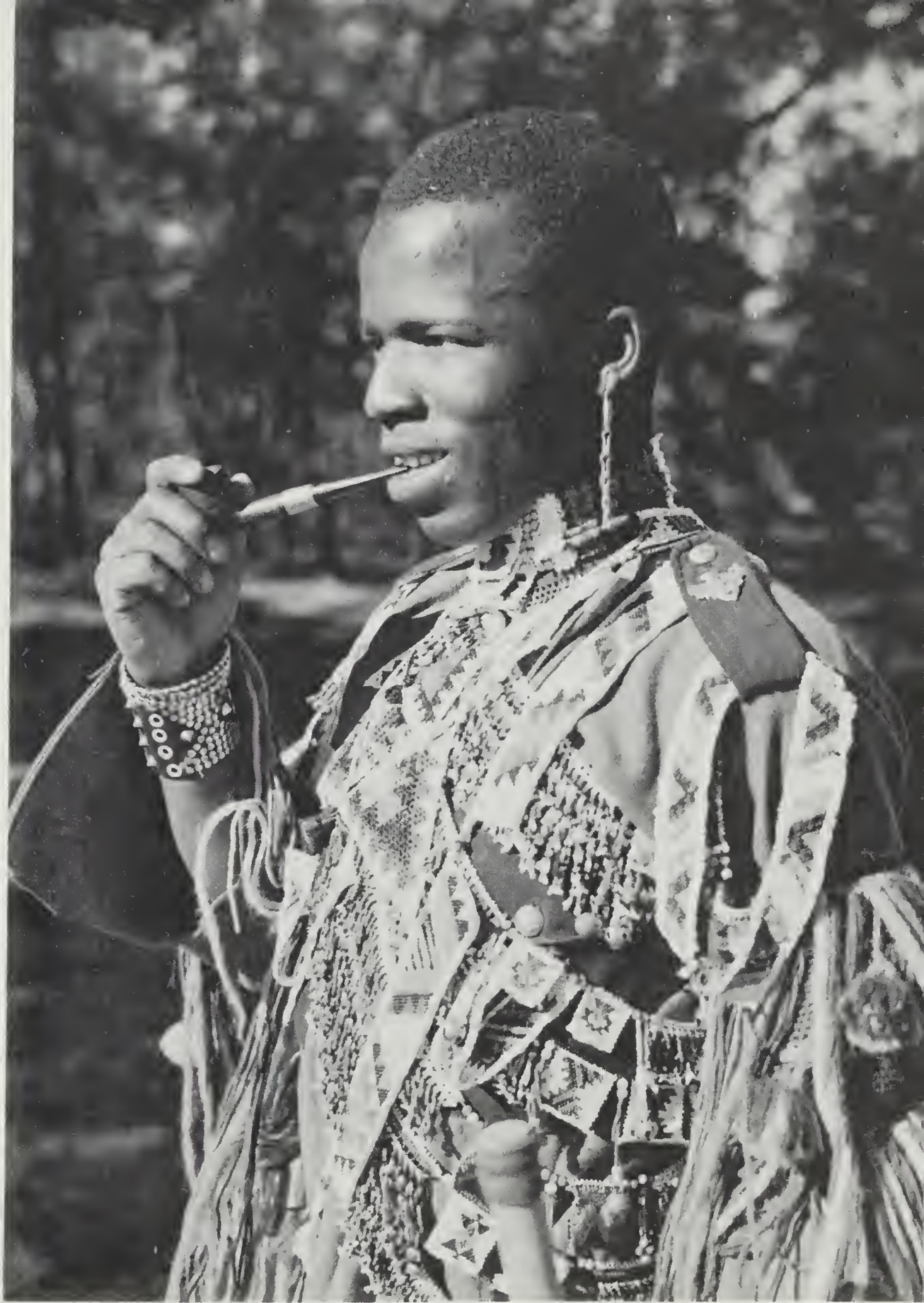
One of the grave moral issues which we have to face is whether the future of the Bantu shall lie in the direction of complete proletarianisation (which would suit the Communists) or whether, even be it in the very long run, the road should be kept open in which a large part of the Bantu nation may continue to be land-owners and independent peasants.

DISINTEGRATION—(5) *Human Diseases*

Paradoxically, medical science has been a factor in the disintegration of the conditions of tribal life.

The medical man among the Bantu was a witchdoctor. To the extent that he practised medicine he was a herbalist. As such he knew many things about the curative properties of plants. Some of this was mere mumbo-jumbo, some was definitely dangerous to health, but quite a bit was sound knowledge as our pharmacologists are discovering now by laborious research in the laboratory. He had also to be an astute politician particularly if he served a powerful and ruthless chief and had to "smell out" those who had incurred the disfavour of the ruler.

The civilized practitioner of medical science is busy disrupting the conditions of tribal life in two broad ways. First, he is introducing into the minds of the



A Zulu beau wearing intricate designs in beadwork made by his feminine admirers. Each item has a special name and its design a special meaning.



Bantu the idea that sickness is not due to witchcraft but that there is a causal relationship between conditions and modes of living and the ills that flesh is heir to. In this way he is doing a great educative work. The medical missionary is God's emissary. In the Union he is preparing the ground for Christianity. He may be preparing it for Islam in other parts of Africa. But he is always preparing it for civilization, for a belief in one God.

The missionaries who were armed primarily with Christian principles, creed and dogma, sowed their seeds on unprepared soil, most of it very stony and thorny with primitive beliefs, superstitions and taboos. This accounts for the heart-breaking difficulties and disappointments which could be overcome only by the highest devotion and self-sacrifice.



"War" dances are the favourite relaxation of Native workers on the Witwatersrand gold fields.

Medical Foothold

The medical practitioner did not find an open door. Only a generation ago he was still regarded with suspicion by wide layers of tribal life. It would be foolish to say that this has disappeared. The great Dr. Albert Schweitzer has pointed out that as yet the medical pharmacopeia possesses no cure for an African who believes that he is suffering because he has offended against a taboo. In large parts of Africa the medical men are still the landing party trying to obtain a foothold on a coast heavily entrenched with primitive beliefs, superstitions and taboos.

In South Africa with some three generations of peaceful co-existence of Blacks and Whites the landing has been completed, the forces of civilized medicine are

fully entrenched. It is, however, only in very recent years that the Bantu have flooded in large numbers to the hospitals. A generation ago a hospital was, in the view of the majority, a place of no return. Today the desire for scientific medical attention is so great that it is difficult to keep abreast of the demand for hospital facilities.

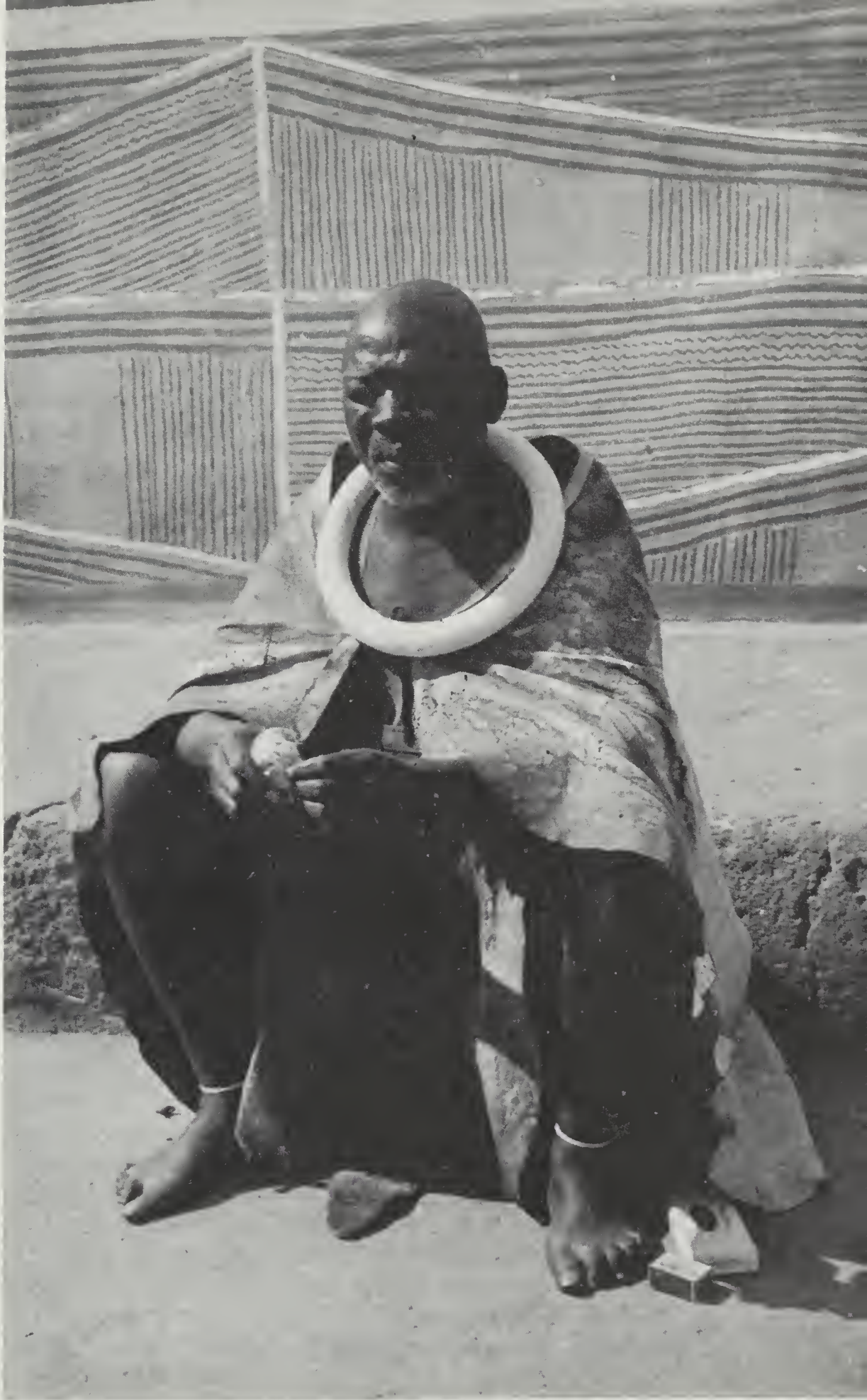
The second broad influence exercised by medicine relates to the growth of population. It would be an extravagant over-statement to claim that the South African Bantu have lost all faith in the witchdoctor-herbalist type of medicine man. It can, however, be fairly claimed that civilized medicine has had a sufficient impact on the Bantu appreciably to influence the important factor of number. The lifespan of the Bantu has been increased, infantile mortality rates have been reduced, epidemic and endemic diseases are being brought under control, and their numbers have increased to a remarkable extent.

A FEW OF THE PROBLEMS

Reference has been made to the union of the soldier and the missionary in breaking the power of the chiefs. The combination of the soldier, the policeman and the doctor has created another element in the disintegration of tribal life. Peace-enforcement and medicine have increased numbers inside a restricted area. How can the five loaves and two little fishes be multiplied to feed the multitude? The problem of food and shelter for a rapidly-growing Bantu population is one of the prime problems of the country, a problem of much vaster significance than that of political rights. To the former question White South Africa must find the answer. On the latter we have a multitude of advisers, ranging from China to Peru, from New York to Bandung.

The point must be emphasised again that a civilized and a primitive community cannot co-exist in large numbers inside the same confines without the one breaking up the other. The disintegration of tribal life under the impact of civilization has been shown in broad lines. Unless, however, the process is to be reversed, unless barbarism is to engulf civilization, the resulting problems must be solved. The white man must civilize the black or he will sink down to the primitive state of the black.

In South Africa the white man has created not only a new environment but also a new moral climate for the black. The Bantu must break away from primitive superstition, animism, witchcraft and all their associated ideas in order to qualify



Captain Cornelius Mapoch takes it easy at the Ndebele village near Pretoria.

for a civilized life. When civilization sets the pace, as it does in South Africa, it is not enough to make it leave only a superficial imprint on the primitive race. That course condemns such a race to enduring inner spiritual conflict.

In this way the social complexity of South Africa differs from that of the greatest part of sub-Saharan Africa, and some of the larger resultant problems require special study. The sort of community which can be created in South Africa with due regard to the demand for civilizing the Blacks in its immediate environment will differ from anything of which recent history has experience. Very little of what has been proved in other climes and under other conditions has much relevance to this problem. Its solution must inevitably proceed largely on empirical lines.

THE LAND PROBLEM

The problem of land-holding involves a great moral issue about the future shape and outlook of the Bantu community.

Private *property* in land is not part of the Bantu tribal system. On the other hand private *use* of arable land is rigidly respected. The head of a family would receive from the chief sufficient ground for tillage by each of his wives. As long as his family tilled the fields they were theirs. When the fields ceased to be fertile others would be allocated and the abandoned fields would revert to pasture.

All pasturage was common and it was the duty of the sons of the tribe to keep animals from straying. This system, primitive and soil-exhausting, is still practised very largely in the Native Reserves in South Africa, except that there is no longer enough arable to allot a "land" to each hut, that is, each wife. In many parts there is not enough arable to allot a "land" to each family head. We have therefore to deal with the problem of landless Bantu.

The improvement of agricultural and pastoral methods is a slow, disappointingly heart-breaking task. The work is undertaken by white supervisors and teams of trained Native agriculturists. Where this work has proceeded for a long time it is beginning to show some results in better farming methods. These results are being obtained at a cost disproportionate to the amount of effort, devotion and money bestowed on the task. In a generation or two we may hope to harvest some results from the efforts now being expended.

The reservation of their tribal lands to the Bantu under this system of land-ownership and use has been the traditional policy in all the South African states. As has been explained, the two streams of migration left the Blacks and the Whites

in possession of particular regions. The Blacks, the first on the scene in the eastern part of the sub-continent, naturally took possession of the parts best suited to their way of living. This included most of the well-watered, bush-covered eastern coast-land. The white man moved into the arid, cold, comparatively treeless western part of the country. While much greater in extent than the Bantu areas it has a very low carrying capacity due to aridity and the uncertainty of the rainfall.

In the early stages both migrational streams were interested in pastoral rather than in agricultural pursuits. The Blacks practised agriculture as a subsistence economy. The Whites were not interested in growing crops for markets which were nonexistent until the development of minerals.

Bantu Ownership

This factor had a material influence on the land question. When the more powerful white migrants conquered the Bantu they were not interested in dispossessing them of the areas occupied by them. What they wanted was vacant grazing land, which was still plentiful. Dispossessing the Bantu had no sense because one could not use land which was already covered with people and cattle.

Bantu areas, with a few exceptions relating to the pacification of unruly tribes, therefore remained Bantu areas and have so remained to this day. Indeed, in this century the Government went to the length of buying up large tracts of land belonging to Europeans, and vesting them in the South African Native Trust in order to settle Bantu on them.

The reservation of tribal lands and Trust lands for the sole use of the Bantu is now enshrined in Acts of Parliament. It is not possible to alienate one square inch of such reserved land without an Act of Parliament and it is impossible to get such an Act through Parliament unless adequate compensation in the form of other land is made. On the other hand, no Bantu is allowed to acquire title to land in the European area. This "apartheid" or separation in ownership of land has been the policy of the country for many years and has been rigidly enforced.

The policy of inalienability of tribal land was adopted in pursuance of a philosophy that the Bantu as a race should never be landless. This philosophy requires some examination because, as will become clear upon analysis, it is a social rather than an economic philosophy.

The Bantu areas contain much of the best agricultural land in a country where agricultural land is scarce, scattered and subject to the un-cooperative violence which characterises much of Mother Nature in Africa. They are now being worked by Bantu peasants on the basis of the communal holding of land which I have described.

Judged purely from the economic angle this system of land utilisation is about as bad a system as can be imagined. With few exceptions a Bantu reserve can be recognized at sight by its barrenness, by the poor quality of its crops, by the leanness of its scrub cattle, by the destruction of its bush and forest, by the all-



Typical mineworker.

embracing punishment which its natural resources have had to suffer from backward and unsuitable methods of cultivation and animal-husbandry.

The tribal African is no conservationist. He seldom if ever fertilises his land. He does not plant a tree but cuts down those that grow naturally to get firewood, or sometimes for no better reason than that he wants to get at the honey which the bees have made in its hollow trunk. He overgrazes it with cattle, sheep, goats and donkeys. Conservation simply never played a part in his life because he always looked for new lands to occupy when his old lands were worked out.

Heartbreaking Tasks

The tasks of teachers who are trying to introduce better methods are heartbreaking. The Reserves are going through a process of depletion. Their carrying capacity is falling and as it falls more and more Bantu migrate to the European farms, the towns and the factories where Europeans, introducing the potent factor of capital, have produced an alternative way of feeding them, of providing the wherewithal to maintain their families in the Reserves. The maintenance of land reserved for the Bantu, together with their backward methods of using land and

the slowness with which they accept improved methods, creates a further need for developments in the European area to feed the surplus population of the Reserves.

There is the further factor that with the Bantu any desire for a higher material standard of living is in conflict with his desire for more leisure. He is accordingly not very interested in earning more money when he has enough for present needs.

There can be little doubt that if the relatively fertile and well-watered Reserves were cut up into farms and used in accordance with the methods of European husbandry two things would follow.

First, an end would in time be put to the progress of soil erosion and denudation which is now ruining some of the best land in the Union.

Secondly, the same area could carry a much larger population than it does now, and as the ravages of the present Bantu practice of soil-robbery are healed and more capital is introduced as a basis for better farming, the carrying capacity of the Reserves could be very considerably increased.

In Europe and the East land reform has generally taken the form of giving peasants individual ownership of quite small plots. To people in these countries, a process which deprived peasants of land (even against full compensation) and consolidated a large number of small holdings into a larger farm would be regarded as the very antithesis of desirable land reform.

One must, however, always be cautious in applying one's experience uncritically to the conditions of Africa, and this applies not only to the Union but to a great part of the continent.

Farming Complexities

Peasant small holdings are a suitable form of land tenure where two conditions are present. The land must be fertile enough and the rainfall regular enough to provide a fair crop even in the poorest years. Secondly, the peasants must be sufficiently intelligent to extract from the soil without excessive soil-robbery an amount adequate for their support.

Neither of these conditions exist even in the relatively good rainfall areas of the South African Native Reserves. In fact in South Africa farming is largely a capitalistic enterprise because it is necessary for the farmer to have sufficient financial strength to weather an almost complete crop failure and to average out his income over a three- to five-yearly period. The Bantu did not, for historical reasons, come to the task of farming restricted areas sufficiently equipped with agricultural skills and they are learning these skills at a disappointingly slow pace, because in part the new methods, especially in the field of animal husbandry, run counter to their religious concepts and their primitive fears and superstitions. Moreover there are very few of them who either own capital or know how to use it as an implement of production.

If, therefore, the Reserves were cut up as farms and the land sold for the benefit of the Bantu people, very few Bantu would become landowners. The

Bantu as a race would become a landless race. They would be deprived of the dignity which still attaches to them as land-owners. They would be reduced, almost without exception, to the level of a proletariat.

Now this might be a welcome result for a Communist. The conscience of White South Africa has always resisted it. It is practically impossible to alienate one acre of Native Reserve.

The maintenance of this policy, uneconomic as it is, wasteful for the present in good earth, good pastures and smiling landscape, is an outcome of the philosophy that the Bantu as a race must not be allowed to become landless. The struggle against their destruction of their tribal lands is going on by means of education—a slow and laborious process in dealing with a primitive people—and by means of soil conservation measures paid for, not by them, but by the white community. Large numbers who maintain a *pied-à-terre* in the Reserves are, however, dependent on the developed European areas for the greater part of their income.

There is a further reason for the maintenance of this uneconomical system of land tenure. The Reserves are fairly compact areas and can therefore be used, and are being used, as a training ground for Bantu self-government.

THE BANTU MIGRATION CONTINUES

Inevitably the whole of the Bantu population, increasing rapidly as a result of the enforcement of peace and the introduction of better hygiene, health measures and medical care, cannot be maintained as peasants on the Reserves. The communal ownership of land places grave obstacles in the way of industrial development in the Reserves themselves. Who will build a factory in an area where he can never get title to it?

There is therefore a regular and large migration to the European farms, to the mines and to the European cities. Work can be found, wages can be earned at these places. The Bantu have never been conscious of the existence of such a condition as involuntary unemployment. Hundreds of thousands of non-Union Bantu regularly come to the Union—some legally, others illegally—to earn cash, returning to their own areas when they have accumulated enough for their present needs.

The migrants from the Bantu areas to the European areas represent two classes. Many of them are merely migrant labourers and do not desire to be anything else.



Typical of neat, four-room dwellings provided for former slum dwellers near Johannesburg.

They leave their families to till the fields, and return to them when they have earned enough money to eke out the product of the fields, to pay taxes, to buy cattle to give as *Lobolo* for a wife or a second wife.

There is, however, a growing number of Bantu who become city and town dwellers. After a generation or more they become permanently detribalised and, to all intents and purposes, an urban proletariat.

There is a third class to which special attention should be given. These are the persons who, while carrying on the old tribal custom of migrating when their lands can no longer carry them, are now migrating into a new realm, the realm in which advanced education opens out a new way of life to them.

Little need be said about those who live on European farms. In the main they live their own lives, learning from their employers the methods of agriculture practised by these. To many the European farm is a school which helps to bridge the gulf between the primitive and the civilized way of life.

The Call of the Towns

A very large number work in the mines. The bulk of these are migrant labourers who are only interested in getting enough money to enable them to go back for a prolonged period of "rest" on their tribal holdings. They remain tribal Bantu and their problem of subsisting and maintaining their families is greatly simplified by the fact that, provided they are physically fit, there is always a job available for them in the mines.

The group that migrates, temporarily or permanently, to the towns get into closer contact with civilization. In any large town in South Africa one can see the



Native Africans purchasing goods in hostel canteen at a Free State gold mine.

greatest of contrasts. On the one hand there are tribal Bantu who are still no different in outlook, in scanty dress, equally scanty experience and in wide-eyed wonder than their ancestors were a century ago. On the other hand they live in a town with all the appurtenances of modern civilization. These very backward Bantus in the towns are, however, today in the minority. They are chiefly temporary visitors or migrant labourers coming to town to find a job for the first time.

There is a much bigger group of permanent town dwellers, either detribalized Natives or persons on the road towards detribalisation. The problems which their presence creates differ radically from those created by the migrant labourers. There is work for them, but they create problems of housing and health facilities, schooling and hospitals which arise faster than they can be solved.

Since this townward migration became prominent there has been general agreement that it should not be allowed to proceed in an uncontrolled manner. The Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 laid down the general basis for control. Three sets of circumstances, however, combined to create a colossal slum-problem.

Higher wages made the towns a strong magnet, particularly in the 'thirties when agriculture was in a depressed condition. In the war years the more liberal outlook of the party in power caused a less rigorous application of the restrictions of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act. The post-war period was followed by an indus-

trial revolution of a magnitude which very few countries have ever compressed into so short a period.

Industrial revolutions have always created slums wherever they have taken place. Our industrial revolution, unlike those of the last century, has proceeded in full view of a world much more sensitive to social conditions than in the even recent past. If it is borne in mind that South Africa has had an industrial revolution compressed into eight years, it can readily be imagined what a housing problem was created.

The war itself had created a great backlog in housing for all classes of the community. The tribal Bantu were accustomed to very simple housing conditions, and the attraction of wages higher than those paid anywhere in the sub-continent caused the creation of shanty-towns constructed of anything that could give shelter in a country in which prevailing fair weather conditions made shelter less important than it is in countries with pronounced variations of heat and cold. This has left a large problem of Bantu housing which will take a long time to overtake.

The problem of providing the elementary requirements of life—food, housing, schooling, health services—for this large group is therefore added to the many other problems which have been enumerated.

THE BANTU INTELLIGENTSIA

Some attention must be devoted to the class of Bantu who have migrated into the realms of more advanced education.

There are, of course, other non-white elements in the overall South African race problem, notably that of the Coloured population—descendants of a mixture of Hottentot and white blood—the Malay sub-section of this group, mostly descendants of Mohammedan slaves, and the Indian group. It is not proposed here to go into this aspect of our composite problems beyond pointing out that no solution of the special problems of these groups which introduces further complications into the all-important Bantu problem, can lightly be entertained.

The Bantu intelligentsia are a small class who have replaced what had before been a physical migration of their people with a spiritual migration into new realms of knowledge, thought and religion.

The introduction among the Bantu of what might be termed “book-learning” had to start from scratch. None of the Bantu tribes knew the art of writing. A

suitable orthography had to be provided, the syntax and the grammatical structure of their languages studied before the first objective of the missionaries, that of giving the Bantu the gospels in their own tongue, could be accomplished.

This problem was in no way simplified by the fact that in the Union of South Africa alone there are four distinct Bantu languages differing from one another as much as Spanish differs from Italian. This work has proceeded to the point where, apart from translations of the Bible and other works of religion, there is now a small indigenous literature growing up in the Bantu languages.

Access to the stores of knowledge of the white men was obviously easier to obtain in their languages—English and Afrikaans. These are the basis of the high school and university studies of Bantu students who have, accordingly, to gain sufficient proficiency in them for the pursuit of advanced studies.

Reference has been made to the large amount of pre-school education which primitive man has to obtain before he reaches the level at which the civilized child commences. He has much to unlearn and much to learn. On top of this comes the burden of financing school education.

To get these matters into perspective it should be remembered that a considerable part of the financial burden of providing education and other social services falls on less than two and three-quarter million Whites and that the Black population numbers more than eight million. It must be obvious that the task of bringing even an elementary school curriculum to such large numbers is formidable. There are more Blacks in school in South Africa than Whites, although the standard that they reach is, under the circumstances, considerably lower than that of the Whites. Much progress has, however, been made. After the 75 years since the end of the tribal wars the percentage of literacy among the Bantu is 27.6%. According to figures published by the Government of India the figures for that country, which has an ancient civilized background, is only 16.6%.

The number of Bantu university graduates can as yet be counted only by the hundreds. These are the leaders of the Bantu *intelligentsia*. The most prominent group of these consists of some sixty fully trained medical doctors. They are reinforced by a rather larger number of parsons, school teachers and other persons who have had a university or high-school education. In numbers they are as yet an insignificant proportion of the Bantu population. While those most advanced in learning have certainly made great strides from the Barbarism which was almost universal three generations ago, very few of them have thus far shown outstanding ability.

There is always a temptation for the white rulers to alienate a small group like this from their fellows by flattering them, by giving them privileges disproportionate to their abilities and attainments, and thus to deprive the backward masses of their natural leaders. There are those in South Africa who consider that it would be wise on the part of the white man to follow such a Machiavellian policy. Hitherto, however, the prevailing doctrine has been to tell these people that it is their prime duty to devote their training and the educational privileges they have enjoyed to the advancement of the more backward members of their own race—a doctrine which has not always been welcomed by this more privileged class of Bantu.

Town Natives in the Union have grown away from their picturesquely garbed ancestors. Here is a Native Minister and his friend.



QUO VADIS?

In what has gone before I have sketched the origin of the present Black-White complex in South Africa. I have also drawn attention to a few of the major problems thrown up by the symbiosis of large masses of primitive people on the one side and civilized people on the other.

It must be clear that the conditions of each group are so different that a differentiation in the approach to their problems is essential. This points to one of the main grounds of conflict between almost all white South Africans on the one hand and writers from abroad who seek to apply general, abstract, and what to them are absolute, principles to the treatment of racial problems.

To the latter classes any kind of differentiation or discrimination between Black and White is anathema. Yet a South African government which tried to handle the race problem without the assistance of discrimination must consist of either fools or knaves, most probably the latter. There would be no quicker and more effective way of making the Blacks a race of landless proletarians than that



Meeting place of the Bunga at Umtata in the Cape Eastern Province.



The Bunga (Native Parliament) in Session. — A meeting of the United Transkeian Territories General Council at Umtata.

of applying to them the same laws in regard to land tenure and access to alcoholic liquor as apply to the white population. No doubt the Communists would welcome this. We do not. We think that, while it is a very long row to hoe, a better outcome for the Bantu by the time they have absorbed a reasonable measure of civilization can even now be envisaged.

Many Americans, in talking about the South African race problem, have at the back of their minds the problems of the American Negro. They reason as if South African Bantu and American Negro are interchangeable terms. Nothing can be further from the truth.

The American Negro has much more in common with the white American than he has with the black African. There is one vital factor in his history which differentiates him from the African races from which he sprang. Slavery, cruel and indefensible, but tyrannous and efficient, has crushed out of the souls of the majority of American Negroes the primitive animism, the witchcraft, the superstitions and the cruelty of their African ancestors. Thereby it left a void which could be filled by Christianity and civilization.

In Africa that void does not as yet exist. On the contrary, the whole of the deeper rationale of Christianity and civilization encounters a severe resistance in the fear-laden soul of the primitive African. The transition cannot be brought about by force. It requires the slow regenerative power of education and spiritual transformation.

APARTHEID

It will no doubt have been noted that the word "apartheid" has not so far been stressed. Most of the writers from abroad who have solved our race problems in the last few years—either after a brief visit to the country or frequently without seeing the country at all—have started with this word. Mostly they have damned apartheid with bell, book and candle and: "eh voilà"—there our problem is solved.

The first syllable of the word "apartheid" means exactly the same as that word means in English. The Whites and the Bantu are two races "apart". "Apartheid" means they must develop apart and their problems must be dealt with according to the separate needs of each. In some form or other this has always been the policy of the country, whether under the rule of the British or of the one or other of the South African political parties. The only difference which the National Party made was to give the policy a clearer, more logical and more precise content. It would

not be incorrect to say that the difference between government and opposition in this matter is one of degree, and not a very wide one at that.

A point that has been missed by almost all foreign observers—and particularly those who prefer condemnation to thought—is that the formulation of a clear-cut policy with which a big political party has linked its fortunes, represents a very notable advance in the approach to the problem of race relations.

That party has committed its political fortune to the finding of measures which will be sufficiently acceptable to the millions of Blacks to maintain in the country a standard of order, development and tranquillity to make life worth living also for the ruling white minority.

It must adjust its policy as time goes on to take care of the problems which that policy creates. If, indeed, the policy should be as many foreigners would have us believe, a policy inspired by the Evil One, it is clear that its proponents will play directly into the hands of their political enemies. It must therefore be obvious that the responsible party must proceed as the years go on from negative apartheid to positive apartheid, from segregating the races to giving each race a greater and ultimately a complete control of its own areas.

It should also be remembered that the fact that one of the two major parties has clearly defined its policy has forced the other to do the same. If the country is following a wrong course it must sooner or later find it out. This is surely a big advance on what went before when even negative conclusions were hard to draw because no course was adopted with sufficient consistency.

There has been so much loose thinking on this problem of race relations, so much of belief in absolute principles, so little willingness to do the real hard thinking which is the essence of progress, that there has been a tendency to confuse the position in South Africa with that in the Gold Coast or Nigeria. In these countries, as in many other parts of Africa, the white man is a temporary sojourner. If need be the whole white population could migrate. In South Africa this cannot be done.

THE CRIME OF IGNORANT INTERFERENCE

South Africa is a European country which happens to be at the other end of Africa. The white South Africans have as much right to be there as the white Americans have to be in the U.S.A. Over far the greater part of the country the black man came in only long after it had been settled by the migrants from Europe.

The major portion of the white population lost its ties with the European homeland five or six generations ago.

The white population is not only responsible for the manner in which the problems are tackled. It is also liable for its own property, its own lives, its own happiness. It is very comfortable for foreign divines and publicists to sit in secure offices and propound solutions which the South Africans think would in a short period drench the country in blood. It is not *their* homes which would be burnt; it is not *their* throats which would be cut; it is not *their* women who would be outraged, it is not *their* children who would fall victims to ritual murder if the floods of barbarism which they are trying to unleash in the pursuit of abstract principles, untried under our conditions, is loosed on us. It is surely the height of immorality thus to comport themselves.

I have indicated that we have problems aplenty. We do not know all the answers. What we do know, however, is that the position has to be watched from year to year; that the ground has to be prepared before the seed can germinate properly; that advances can only be made from stage to stage as each position has been adequately consolidated.

THE DARK SIDE

A great deal of the soil has still to be prepared for Christianity and for civilization. We know now that we wasted a great deal of effort in the past in our keen desire to have converts to show, and in disregarding the fact that conversion should be a matter of spiritual change and not of outward conformity to a pattern.

We know that there is still only a slight veneer over the surface and that barbarism may break forth in all its hideousness if a firm hand is not kept over its manifestations. An example of what inherent barbarism can still produce is an incident that happened as late as 1952 in one of our cities. Sister St. Aidan, a Roman Catholic nun who was a trained physician and who catered selflessly for the medical needs of the Bantu quarter in East London, was warned by the Police that the Blacks in the course of an industrial dispute were in an ugly mood, and that she could not go on her daily rounds. She pooh-poohed the idea saying that they knew she came only to help them and would respect her. Alas, how wrong she was. Her car was stopped, she was stabbed to death and the car was then set on fire.

The rest of the story is horrible to the civilized mind. After the flames died down some of the Blacks tore away portions of her burnt flesh and ate it, saying

that it would make them strong! This is not a story from a horror strip. The details were sworn to at the inquest by different Bantu who had witnessed this ghoulish act.

Another reminder that we are living next door to barbarism is given to us by the recurrent trials for what is called "ritual murder". Barbarous people have in all ages practised human sacrifice to placate the evil spirits. It is the strongest form of sacrifice, to be used when all others fail. In Africa, where Nature is ever at war with man, it was very common indeed and took a particularly barbarous form. For the sacrifice to have maximum potency the requisite portions of the body must be removed from the victim while still alive and must be eaten.

Needless to say the white man has done his utmost to suppress this barbarous practice. It has, however, not been exterminated. Every year produces reports of trials for "ritual murder". It is almost certain that many cases go undetected, for the relatives of the victims are often too fearful to report the mysterious disappearance of a near one.

It is not intended to leave a false impression. The things just described are not everyday happenings. It is possible to travel the length and breadth of the country and be entirely unaware of them because they are kept in check. They are, however, just below the surface. Relax the firm grip of law and order and we may also have atrocities in South Africa like those of the Mau Mau in Kenya.

PROBLEMS OF PRIME IMPORTANCE

In dealing with the problems of a multi-racial community the government must have a due sense of their relative importance. People abroad are concerned chiefly with questions of political rights because they know something about such questions. They know very little about the real and urgent problems.

Maintenance of Peace and Order

The problem of the maintenance of peace and order remains the most important one from all points of view. While the Bantu have been forced to relinquish the characteristic endemic warfare of tribal life they are as yet but one stage removed from it. A step backward into internecine strife would be fatally easy. As it is, the South African Police have to put down frequent inter-tribal fights—fights of Zulu against Pondo or even of one Zulu tribe against another. On an average there are nearly five hundred of these fights a year. Over a hundred deaths and more than 2000 injuries a year result on an average from these faction fights. It can

A Bantu cabinet-maker manages this non-European owned carpenter's shop.



clearly not yet be considered that the dove of peace dwells in the souls of South African Bantu. It is a bird which requires careful guarding by the Police.

Food and Shelter

A next urgent and important problem is that of feeding and housing the growing Bantu population. It is essential for the maintenance of the present standard of living of the Bantu to have a developed area like the Union. The alternative is starvation for millions of Blacks. This applies not only to Union Bantu but also to hundreds of thousands from the neighbouring territories. If there were to be any effective bar to their migration into the Union there would be starvation in large parts of Africa beyond our borders. In fact nearly 70% of the wages earned in the gold mines go to non-Union Bantu.

This task introduces a further sphere in which law and order are prime requisites. All countries require capital investment for their development, but South Africa requires this on an exceptional scale to counter the un-cooperativeness and the recalcitrance of natural conditions.

Capricious Africa

Africa—the immense savage heart of Africa—is a mighty tyrant ever fighting against men. She will yield enough of her resources to maintain human life on a low standard, a mere subsistence standard, without concern. *De minimis non curat rex*.

But who would extort from her the means of maintaining a civilized standard must come armed with the mightiest weapons.

She will fight him alternately with droughts and with torrents; with the devastation of hail, of lightning and veld fires. She will fight him with locusts and commando-worm. She will fight him with mosquitoes, ticks and tsetse fly. Her unpredictability is disheartening, even crippling.

Who would cause her agricultural and pastoral resources to yield a plenty must come armed with all the appurtenances of modern capital and science. Who would force her to yield the mineral wealth which is stored away in the depths of her bowels must come armed with vast capital and engineering technique.

Who would force her, will find that she imposes her own pace on puny man. Both in her niggardliness and in her bounty Africa demands more than ordinary application of capital to make her yield a high standard of life to her peoples.

Stable Government Essential

It is essential to have stable government and safety to enable capitalistic instruments of production and technique to ameliorate natural conditions for the good of man. This is particularly the case in South Africa where millions of Bantu are now dependent on these for their very subsistence. Ill-judged reforms aimed at giving a primitive race a say in the government on the ground of some supposed elementary human rights is more likely to deprive them of the most elementary human right, that of food and shelter.

Foreign capital has played a large part in providing for the Bantus who work in South Africa a higher average standard of wages than obtains in almost any part of sub-Saharan Africa. Orderly government is essential to the maintenance of this condition. Those who criticise the South African government for keeping a firm hand on law and order should ponder the calamity that would befall millions of semi-barbarous people if there were any laxity in this sphere.

Albert Schweitzer has trenchantly said: "Whatever may be the fundamental human rights they can be fully assured only in a stable and well-ordered society".

If a deterioration of internal peace and order, like that which was caused by the Mau-Mau in Kenya, struck a society like that of South Africa where so many people are dependent for their daily bread on the smooth running of highly-developed industrial processes, it would be a calamity for millions of Bantu inside and outside the borders of the Union.

It would indeed be easy to scare away the foreign capital on which the welfare of the Bantu is dependent if the Government failed in its duty of maintaining law and order among these people.

POLITICAL RIGHTS

I have stressed the importance of orderly government. The view has been frequently expressed by foreign critics that the white man in South Africa will reserve all functions of government to himself and that he will keep the Bantu without a say in the government indefinitely.

This is not correct even at the present time. The Bantu do elect a few members of the legislature. It must, however, be admitted that the present arrangement is not satisfactory. How is it proposed to deal with this important problem in the course of the transition of the Bantu to civilization?

It is, of course, obvious to everybody that if the processes of extending political power to ever-broadening groups is applied to the Bantu the inevitable result will be that in course of time the white leaders of civilization will be completely outnumbered. This is a simple and broad highway to Communism and therefore rejected *in toto*.

In their present state of development only an insignificant portion of the Bantu are fit to exercise political rights. As education increases, however, this number will increase. The Whites are therefore faced by a problem which has almost the character of a logical dilemma. If they continue on the course of educating and civilizing the Bantu all the power in the State will in time flow into the hands of those who only just qualify for the exercise of political rights. If they do not educate and civilize the Bantu they cannot put an end to the frictions which arise from the presence of uncivilized masses in a civilized state. Is there an answer?

The proponents of apartheid answer this question in the affirmative. I have already stressed the maintenance of a policy of reserving for purely Bantu occupation and land-ownership the portions of the country which were originally occupied by their ancestors. I have stressed one social reason for the maintenance of what is, for the present at least, a highly uneconomical system of land tenure. There is, however, a further reason, a reason of political organisation.

Training Ground for Bantu

It is by no means a new idea to use these areas as a training ground for the political education of the Bantu. Local councils, consisting of Bantu chiefs and



Setting type for the "Bantu World", a leading publication for Native Africans.

elected tribesmen under the guidance of European officials, are in existence in many of these areas.

The history of these Councils goes back to 1894 and the most important of them is the Transkeian Territories General Council, generally known as the "Bunga". It is the local government of an area of 15,500 square miles (i.e. about twice the size of New Jersey) and a population of about $1\frac{1}{4}$ million Bantu. In addition there are some thirty smaller councils in different parts of the Union.

The idea is that in fullness of time all the purely Bantu areas will be ruled by a purely Bantu electorate and governmental functions will be in the hands of Bantu officials. The Blacks will vote in their areas and the Whites in theirs.

Many problems will have to be solved before such an organisation as a Black Parliament controlling the destinies of the black people of the Union can come into being. At present tribal differences make such an outcome utopian. It can reasonably be hoped, however, that advances in civilization and diminution of ancient tribal hostilities will in time make such a solution possible.

It should also be remembered that the territories of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, at present being ruled by Great Britain, could not in the long run exist apart from the Union. Almost the whole of these territories are reserved for Bantu occupation. Much water will flow under the bridges before a political union

of all these areas becomes possible. Much education and civilization will also be necessary before the Bantu can rule them without European guidance. In the long run they will, however, provide an area in which the Bantu can exercise all their ambitions and potentialities of self-government.

Educational Task

All these developments, all this training to change the outlook from a primitive to a civilized outlook, whether it be in morals or economics, in agriculture or in politics, in animism or in Christianity, involve a large educational task.

Nor can the educational processes on which the march from barbarism to civilization is dependent be maintained except in an orderly atmosphere.

It is only too readily assumed by foreign observers that it is enough to rubber-stamp a civilized pattern on a semi-primitive people. In this matter our thinking in South Africa has advanced well ahead of the superficial assumptions that underlie many of the views of our would-be mentors.

It is indeed possible to introduce into a semi-barbarous community much of the material improvement that has resulted from civilized invention and technique without greatly changing the daily pattern of the lives of its people. This is no longer possible in the Union of South Africa. I have explained how the development of a European state has largely disintegrated the tribal life of the Bantu, has deprived them of the primitive remedies for the ills of a primitive society, has largely increased their numbers, has superimposed on them problems of health, adjustment and survival which their ancestors never knew.

Orderly Adjustment

Civilization sets the pace in South Africa. Civilized goods are not a mere appendage, a simple amelioration of primitive tribal conditions. Civilization has for good or for ill brought its sea of troubles in which the southern Bantu must swim or sink.

The Bantu has to be adjusted to these conditions, not only economically but—what is of more far-reaching importance—also spiritually. He is not going to find it easy. He has much to unlearn and much to learn. Before he has achieved a civilized mentality he cannot properly fit into, and much less be entrusted with, the operation of the institutions of a civilized state.

It is not a problem which can be solved by introducing cut-and-dried solutions—solutions which have been established in other lands to deal with problems entirely different from those that beset South Africa.

If ferments foreign to the historical stage of development in which the Bantu finds himself are introduced by people whose only qualification is the possession of a few untried ideologies, and whose main characteristic is an abysmal ignorance of the facts and an unwillingness to face them, the only result that can reasonably be expected is misery, suffering and starvation for millions of South African Blacks.



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